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semi-private. A visitor remains in the lower end of the house unless especially invited by the owner into the middle of the house, which is reserved for relatives and people of high rank. The upper part of the house (*longgi*) is reserved for the owner. A visitor may enter a house by the entrance at the lower end only, unless he is especially invited by the owner to use one of the two side doors (*katumba yasa*). A close relative of the owner may use either side door. A private door (*katumba kumbu i thake*) at the upper end of the large house is used for removing dead bodies from the house.

When a visitor enters a house, he stoops to show respect to the owner. Formerly, according to natives, stooping was necessary because of the low doorways. In the house the visitor sits down immediately. Both men and women sit with knees flexed and legs crossed, the men with both feet resting on the floor. Old natives say that women formerly sat with knees flexed and feet on one side. The Tongan women sat with knees flexed, legs crossed, and one foot resting on the floor while the other rested on the opposite knee. Today women sit in either fashion.

A crowd sits in formation similar to the kava circle (p. 69), the highest ranking visitors along the side walls toward the middle of the house, those of lower rank (including women and children) near the main doorway. Occasionally the men sit on one side of the lower end and the women on the other. When a ranking individual enters a crowded house a place is made for him according to his rank. To take his place, he walks in front of and not behind the other guests. Natives say it is forbidden to pass behind, because in olden days a man might club another from behind.

Presentation of Gifts

Most ceremonials involve the presentation and reception of gifts. They are based on the ceremonial presentation (*sevusevu*) pattern, which varies in detail according to occasion and participants. The gifts consist mainly of first fruits, kava, cooked feasts, whales' teeth, tapa, mats, canoes, and wooden bowls.

First Fruits

The ceremonial presentation pattern is a variation on the one formerly used for the offering of the first fruits of the land (*sevu ni vanua*) to the priest at the god house. Today first fruits are presented to the chief. The following ceremony, recorded at Undu, illustrates the pattern.

The chief of crops offers a bunch of coconuts (called *i vono ni vanua*) to the chief, who sits in the center of the upper part of his house. It is received by the chief's herald, who sits to the right of and lower than the chief.

Chief of crops: with bunch of coconuts bows at the door of the chief's house cries, "O . . . oa" (cry of welcome to chief).

Herald: "Vinaka" (Very good).

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Chief of crops: enters in crouching position and sits crosslegged in lower part of the house, facing the chief. The people making the offering enter and sit in the lower part of the house. "Ka vaka vanua, saka" (The offering of the land, Sir).

Herald: "Sa vinaka me i vala mai" (You may present the offering here).

Chief of crops: puts the fruit down, claps twice with hands crosswise, takes fruit, and advances on his knees. When kneeling on his right knee he turns his bent body to the left. When on the left knee he turns to the right. "O . . . oa." He places the fruit before the chief, claps twice slowly, twice rapidly and places his hands on the nuts. "Kotokoto vaka tha saka na kasa mua lala, ai vono vei keimundou a turanga ai vono ni vanua vei iratou a matua. A mbala-mbalavu nonggou yangatha sosoraki thake vaka-turanga tu yani ka ndonu ka vu . . . ra." (The young bunch of coconuts, the offering to you, the chief, from the people of the land is poorly presented. The lengthy speech of presentation is offered to you in chiefly fashion with honest mind and that is all). He pushes the nuts forward.

Herald: "Vinaka" (good). He takes the fruit and claps three times. "Um . . . " (a sound expressing that he is pleased and likes the fruit). "Au a taura manda nga ni kamananga vakaturanga ka rika tu mai vei keimundou na matua ka vangara tu mai vei iratou na turanga. Au taura kau masulakina ka ndonu mai thake vua na kalou ka mbalavu tu manda nga nomundou mbula." (I accept the chiefly offerings which have come from you, the ripe fruits for the chief. I accept them gratefully. May you live long).

Herald: "Mana! E . . . ntchina! A . . . munduo! (Mana, may it be true, may it be effective!). Claps three times. "A . . . munduo!" Claps three times.

The fullest information concerning the first fruit rites was obtained on Fulanga, where Waisea said that formerly there was only one offering, the offering of the fruits of the trees. The first fruits of Muanaithake, Waisea's village, were taken to the god house called Tambanikasanga on the piece of land named Tara Nggilo. The fruit was eaten by the priest and his subclan, which belonged to the Nggilo clan.

Today there are three offerings made to the chief of Fulanga: the offering of the fruits of the trees (*sevu ni vua ni kathu*); the offering of the fruits of the garden land (*sevu ni nggele*); and the offering of fish (*sevu ni ika*).

The chief of crops has charge of the first fruits. The offering of the fruits of the trees is held annually for each of the three most important fruit crops—the *ivi* (Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus edulis*), the *ndawa (Pometia pinnata)*, and the *uto* (breadfruit). Before the season for each crop, the chief of crops declares a tabu on it. Thereafter no one is allowed to eat the fruit until the tabu is lifted. When the crop is ripe the tabu is lifted by the chief of crops, and the first fruits of the crop are collected from each village on the island. They are taken to Muanaithake and presented ceremonially to the chief of Fulanga by the chief of crops and the chief's administrator. The feast is divided among the clans of the island by the chief of the ceremonial ground. The offering of first fruits is held in the fruit season between February and March. The offering of the fruits of the garden land is held annually for each of the most important garden crops: sweet potato in April, yam in May, and sweet yam in July. The procedure follows the pattern described above. The offerings of fruit and of garden produce are considered the offerings of the land (*sevu ni vanua*).

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The offering of fish is not an annual ceremony but is held on special occasions as at the installation of a chief or the death of a high ranking person. The master fisherman sets the days and leads the communal fishing expedition. Standing on the reef, he holds one end of the net, while the chief of crops carries the other end to another part of the reef. No one except the master fishermen and the chief of crops is permitted to speak. and if any man throws his spear before the command of the master fisherman or chief of crops he is disgraced and his spear is broken.

The catch is piled before the chief of Fulanga. The chief of crops sits on one side of the pile, the master fisherman, who is also the herald, on the other.

Herald: "Sa vinaka me vakathombo na ika vei Tui Fulanga" (You may proceed with the presentation of the fish to the chief of Fulanga).

Chief of crops claps three times. "I...a..." (Yes). Pause. "Tui Fulanga ika ni rau sa tu. Sa thambe tú mai veta tu nggoli. O mai ika sau sa tu. Sa mai vakathombo veikemu na Tui Fulanga. A mbalambalavu tu kena vosa a sosora ki vakaturanga ka vu...ra." (To the chief of Fulanga: Sir, lying before you are the fish caught when we fished today. They are the fish for the chief. These are presented to the chief of Fulanga. I have spoken at length on this and this is all, Sir).

Chief of Fulanga: claps three times "A...u, a...u, u...lia, thika manda ya au mundou tu kuku ndau. A rawa tchiko manda ya veta totoli" (I gratefully accept the fish presented by you, my fishermen. May your fishing expeditions be successful for years to come).

Then all the people clap three times and the chief orders that the catch be shared among the people. The chief of crops and the herald distribute the fish, the largest, the *sangga* and the *ndonu*, to the chief. The remainder of the catch is placed in rows according to size and from each row one fish is taken for each clan in the following order: Vunikoro, Rasea, Nasava, Sau, Vandravandra. The master fisherman's clan, Vandravandra, receives the same share as the others; but later the chief's clan, Vunikoro, presents property and kava to the master fisherman.

Turtle, *sangga*, *ndonu*, and *ndaungava*, caught at any time of the year, must be presented to the chief of Fulanga and may be eaten by the people only if the chief gives permission.

Natives say that a fish offering is occasionally presented to the high chief at Lakemba as a form of tribute. When a large catch is made on the island the men hold a meeting at which the chief of Fulanga presides. If an offering to Lakemba is decided upon, baskets of fish are loaded onto canoes and taken to Lakemba about 60 miles to the north. The sailors go to the high chief's house in Tumbou and announce their arrival. They then unload the canoes and carry the fish to the envoy to Fulanga of the Vatuwangga clan. He divides the offering into three parts: one for the high chief, one for the chief's household, and one for himself. The shares for the chief and his household are taken to the ceremonial ground in front of the chief's house and presented

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226 ceremonially. The envoy to Fulanga and the high chief then give a feast
796 (*i nggaravi*) to the sailors.

In the bush near the village of Naivindamu, Fulanga, a *mbau* tree, which
241 belongs to Lingau clan, is fenced with a stone wall and called *mbau ni sevu*.
796 The fruit of the tree is tabu to all but members of the Lingau clan.

On Ongea the main offerings of first fruits are held annually for the mangrove (*Rhizophora mucronata*) and the *yangai*. The *yangai* is ripe in June and July. The offerings are presented to the chief of Ongea. Formerly every turtle caught was also presented to him, but today this custom is not regularly observed.

On Kambara in olden days the offering of *ndawa*, Tahitian chestnuts, and breadfruit was presented to the chief of Kambara. All turtles caught were presented to him also. Today first fruit offerings are presented only when the crop is particularly good. The chief of crops sets and lifts the tabu. In April, while I was on the island, an offering of sweet yams was made in Tokalau. The men of the village collected sweet yams from their gardens and took them to the chief of crops, who examined them. After they had been steamed in the clan earth ovens, the chief of crops presented them to the chief of Kambara and the village headman jointly. Afterwards the food was divided and eaten by the village.

On Mothe an annual offering of first fruits is held for breadfruit and Tahitian chestnuts, and an offering of garden products for yams, sweet potatoes, and sweet yams. The offering was formerly presented to the priest, but now it goes to the chief of Mothe. From each clump of banana trees the uppermost ring of the first bunch of the season is given annually to the chief. Each season the first cluster of fruit from each *ndawa* tree goes to the chief. He also receives all turtles, all *ndonu* and all *sangga* fish caught by the Mothe people.

On Namuka the last offering was held several years ago. They stopped the tabu because they had plenty of food.

KAVA CEREMONY

796 Kava drinking is part of all important ceremonials. It is indispensable in rites connected with the chief—his death, marriage, circumcision; the recep-
272 tion of a visiting chief; and the building of a chief's house or canoe. It always precedes a feast (*mangitchi*).

Kava root is a valuable object of ceremonial exchange. It is in great demand, for kava is scarce on the southern islands where it is rarely planted
[574] and must be imported from other parts of Fiji. When a stranger arrives in a village he presents ceremonially a whole fresh kava root to the hosts. Dry kava roots are substituted when the green plant is not available. Kava is never prepared and drunk without ceremony, which is elaborate in the

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presence of a chief. Kava ceremonies vary slightly on different islands and for different occasions. In southern Lau on formal occasions a mixed Tongan and old Lauan kava ceremony is used. On less formal occasions a simplification of the Tongan ceremony is customary. The natives say that the Lauan ceremony is long and is marked by much hand clapping, whereas the Tongan ceremony is short and simple. The Tongans say, "Faka sinisini ko Fishi. Sa levu na topotopo" (Too many tens in Fiji, too much clapping), meaning that the Fijian ceremony is too elaborate.

The kava ceremony for the chief of Kambara is as follows:

The kava drinkers sit cross-legged in circular formation called *yalofi*, in the following order: the chief sits in the center of the upper end of the house. On his left sits his herald, on his right, another chief or herald. The clan elders sit in two rows on either side of the chief. Those of highest rank sit nearest the chief. At the lower end of the house, opposite and facing the chief, sits a young man who is the kava maker (*palu yanggona*). In front of him stands the kava bowl, which is a wooden bowl (*kumete ni yanggona*) made of greenheart, usually with four legs. The bowl used for a chief has cowry shells tied to the sennit string handle, which is stretched toward him. It is tabu to use this bowl except in kava ceremonies for the chief. In olden days, according to the natives, an earthenware kava bowl without legs (*ndari ni yanggona*) was used.

On each side of the kava maker sits a young man, called assistant at the bowl (*nggaravi kumete*). The young men who pound the kava sit behind the kava maker. Either green or dry kava is used, but natives say the green root makes a drink which is more tasty and digestible. A flat stone slab is placed on a kava mat (*yambe ni yanggona*) and when the root has been pounded with a rough stone hammer into bits, the stone slab is tilted so that the bits of root fall on the mat, the mat is passed to one of the assistants, who slides the kava bits into the kava bowl. Occasionally a wooden mortar and an iron pestle are used.

Formerly kava root was chewed by youths. The kava chewers (*matha*) sat behind the kava maker. They were young men of rank related to the chief. The chewed root was removed from the mouth and placed on the strainer (*i vautau*), composed of strips of the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus* (*vau*), which lay in the bowl; or it was passed to one of the assistants, who put it into the bowl. The kava maker and assistants chewed also. (Old men who have chewed kava in their youth seem to have better preserved teeth than those who have not chewed it. Chewing has been forbidden by the colonial government.)

When sufficient kava has been prepared the kava maker raises the bowl by the two rear legs and says, "Kawa nai mama" (The kava is chewed).

The herald answers, "Kuo holo" (It is kneaded), and the kava maker lowers the bowl. The herald adds, "Tukuwatu" (put it down), and the kava maker puts the bowl down. When it is resting on the ground the herald says, "Tutumalie pe kae palu" (All right, mix). The kava maker places his hands, fingers together, palms down, on the sides of the bowl. The herald looks at them and if they are not clean he says nothing and the kava maker is replaced by another. If they are clean he says, "Palu, tafoki kimoua" (Kava maker, turn), and the two assistants move forward to the bowl. During the mixing and serving they face the bowl, otherwise they face the chief.

Then the herald says, "Lini o ma wai" (Pour the water). The kava maker places his hands in the bowl and the assistant who is sitting on the right of the kava maker pours water from the water container onto the kava maker's hands. It is poured away from the kava maker. It is tabu to pour it toward him. Either a bamboo water container (*ndangoni wai*), imported from Viti Levu, an earthenware pot (*kuro*), or an imported bucket is used.

The kava maker mixes the kava. Before straining it he squeezes the mixture over

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the bowl to show its consistency and color. The herald judges it. If more water is needed he repeats "Pour the water", and more water is added. If it is satisfactory he says, "Lele" (Good). Then the kava maker begins to strain the mixture. If he squeezes with the right hand he keeps the left elbow on his left knee and vice versa. It is tabu to raise the elbow above the knee while squeezing. If this tabu is broken, he may never make kava for the chief again. It is very tabu (*tombu sara*) for the kava maker to straighten his legs or to shake the strainer while straining. He passes it back to be shaken out.

When the kava has been strained the kava maker coils the strainer, passes it around the bowl and claps on it two or three times. He says, "Maa e kawa ni" (This kava is clear). The herald says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out). The cup bearer (*vakatau*), a young noble, who has been sitting behind the bowl, comes forward and squats in front of and facing the bowl.

The drink is served in a highly polished cup (*mbilo*) usually made of the pointed end of a coconut shell. The chief has his own cup which is tabu to all others. The cup bearer holds the serving cup over the bowl with both hands, his fingers on the outside of the cup. The kava maker squeezes some kava from the strainer into it. When the cup is full, the cup bearer lifts it with arms extended shoulder high. Then, still in squatting position, he turns. He rises to a standing position, walks slowly toward the chief, kneels with one knee ahead of the other, and fills the chief's cup, which the chief holds toward him with one hand, the index finger extending over the rim of the cup. The chief drinks the kava in one draught. Meanwhile the cup bearer returns to the kava bowl and places the serving cup beside it. Then he takes a cup of water from the assistant, and, facing the chief, stands before the bowl. The chief, after drinking, puts his empty cup down in front of him and the herald says, "A matha" (It is empty). Then all the members of the kava circle clap with hollow hands crosswise (*thombo*) but not in unison. The chief spits toward the side wall of the house, drinks water offered by the cup bearer, and spits again. The cup bearer returns to the bowl and sits down, cross-legged, in front of it. He claps two or three times. The members of the kava circle clap only after the chief has drunk. All the drinkers except the chief clap before receiving the cup.

The cup bearer picks up the cup and holds it to be filled a second time. When it is full he turns as before, and, holding the cup with arms either extended or slightly bent, he stands up straight and faces the chief. The assistant says, "Kawa kuo heka" (The kava is taken up).

The herald replies, "Aui e ma—" (Take it to so-and-so). The recipient claps two or three times, receives the cup, and drinks from it. The cup bearer returns to his place in front of the bowl but does not clap. When the man finishes drinking he throws the cup toward the bowl on the mat in front of him. The cup should not be spun.

The cup bearer and usually the kava maker and assistants dress in ceremonial attire. They wear long pieces of Fijian barkcloth around their waists and wreaths around their necks. They oil their bodies and paint their faces black.

The order of drinking depends on rank and often does not correspond to the order of seating in the kava circle. The herald decides the order and calls out all the titles except that of the chief. When the chief has drunk, the herald who is not calling drinks, then another chief, then the second herald, and so on. The chief of Kambara says that formerly if the high chief came to Kambara he sat in the place of honor and the chief of Kambara prepared the kava. The chief of Kambara's herald sat next to the chief, and the envoy to Lakemba directed the preparations and called the order of drinking as

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follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth.

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me.

The kava song follows:

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka laveta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

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Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

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252 171 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana utchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

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or pig. Pots of boiled food, covered with slightly dry breadfruit leaves, fastened down by tying a piece of pandanus around the rim, are brought by the women from the kitchens into the circle. The boiled food is either wrapped in leaves and put into baskets with the steamed food by the men, or is left in pots to be distributed with the baskets. The rank and size of the household and its relationship to the host determine the quantity and quality of its share.

The food in the baskets is covered with leaves (hibiscus, banana, breadfruit, ti). The shares are then delivered to each household by young men related to the host. The food is distributed to the members of the household and eaten quickly and informally. Sweet puddings are eaten first, then the main part of the feast. Guests from other villages often carry their food home and eat it in their own village. Shares for visiting guests with canoes are delivered to the canoes. Frequently the shares for close relatives in nearby villages are set aside and delivered.

The chief or person of highest rank always receives the first and best share of a feast. Cooked food presented to the chief or other high persons is covered with green leaves as a sign of respect. Large fish and turtles are wrapped in breadfruit, banana, or ti leaves and steamed in the oven. The head is preferred because it contains the mana and is therefore served to the person of highest rank. Formerly the head of the turtle or pig was eaten by the chief only. Now, in accordance with the Tongan custom (Gifford, 9, p. 125), the back is eaten instead and the priest receives the head.

Ceremonial Exchanges

Large competitive ceremonial exchanges (*solevu*) are made according to a definite ceremonial pattern based on the *sevusevu* rites which were formerly used to make offerings to the ancestor gods but are now used to present first fruits to the chief (pp. 65-66).

On Kambara a *solevu* with deferred payment is occasionally held between the rival villages, Tokalau and Nggalinggali, and between Undu and Lomatchi. Each village tries to outdo the other in quantity of food presented. Several months or years may elapse between the initial payment and the return payment.

The following description of a competitive exchange with immediate payment, held in January 1934, between Komo and Muanaithake was obtained on Fulanga.

The exchange was initiated by the Komo people who sent a message to Muanaithake by a visiting Muanaithake man, asking that a *solevu* be held. The Komo people stated that they wished wooden bowls, a small canoe, paddles, chickens, mats, and pandanus, and that they would bring manioc. A village meeting was held in Muanaithake and the proposal was accepted. Work began on the articles, and four months later a group of Muanaithake men went to Komo on the Fulanga cutter. The Komo people gave a feast called *mangitchi ni tvikandavi*. The Muanaithake helped the Komo people cut manioc in

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796 431 their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maŋaithake. When they arrived the *veikendavuki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vuka vandrū*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vutonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vakamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

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Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part.

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduzu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu.

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times.

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni valu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *luve ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni valu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulia na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

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/For description of the traditional formal ceremony to welcome visiting dignitaries to the island, see catergory 574,/

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115 Mavana, and 'tis only fished about once in three
226 years."

[778] "Tell me all about it," I said, scenting a good tale.

Then Rusiate turned to me and began.

"My mother is of Mavana town, so that I count with Vanua Balavu, and, indeed, have only lately come back here to live at Doi, my father's land. And I am of the *mataqali* (tribe)
226 that catch the sacred fish. And the catching
796 of it is thus. When it appears to the priest (that is, of course, to the descendant of the old priests, for there are no heathen priests to-day," he added, hastily) "that the time has arrived for the fishing, he goes to inform Tui Mavana, who is the great chief of all the northern half of Vanua Balavu, the long island. And Tui Mavana gathers together his people, and they take their canoes and work round the coast till they arrive at the deep bay of Masomo. There they disembark, and climb up the sloping hill-side, through the woods, till they come to the marsh of the *yawa*.
[349] Then a *buré bolabola* (rough arbour or shelter) is put up at the edge of the swamp and the priest
[793] retires inside it. The priest to-day is Juta, the son of Eroni." (I was quietly amused at this naïve
[276] confession.) "Then *Yaqona* is made, with much ancient ceremony; and after that a *lovo* (oven of heated stones) of food is prepared, and a

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
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Sometimes there are over a hundred fish caught at one fishing; and 'tis indeed wonderful how they live and breathe in that mud. Then the fish are divided out, and half of them go to Tui Mavana and his *mataqali*, and half of them to the priest and his *mataqali*."

"And are these fish found nowhere else?" I asked.

"At Masomo and in Tonga only are they found, sir," was the reply. "And their coming was as follows," he went on. "There was a goddess who lived at Tonga "*dua na Marama rairai vinaka sara dina*" (a lady the most beautiful ever seen), and she fell in love with a god at Laucala, which is, as you know, not in the Lau Islands at all, but at Cakaudrove, in Fiji. And one day she decided to take him a present of the finest fish that could be found in all the world, and that was the *yawa*, the fish that lived at one of her smaller islands at Tonga. So she made a leaf basket and placed five or six fine live fish in it, and flew off on her long journey to Laucala. And on the way the fish began to wriggle about, and presently found a small opening at the bottom of the basket. And then their leader said, 'Come, brothers, help me force open this gap, for perchance we may thus drop into the sea and swim back to Tonga.' So they wriggled and nosed about and pushed at the